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III.—THE RELATIVE POSITION OF ACTORS AND CHORUS IN THE GREEK THEATRE OF THE V CENTURY B. C.

PART II.

CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTANT DRAMAS.

An examination of the works of the four great dramatists in strictly chronological order would seem at first glance calculated to show most clearly the steady course of development in the drama, and consequently to illustrate most fully the corresponding changes which were made in 'stage'-buildings and equipments. But Sophokles was ever more akin to Aischylos than to Euripides, and Aristophanes frequently holds the youngest of the tragedians up to ridicule, both in his text and in the setting of his plays. It has seemed best, therefore, to follow an order which, while in a general way chronological, shall place together the poets who are most closely related to each other.¹

I. THE PLAYS OF AISCHYLOS BEFORE THE TIME OF SOPHOKLES.²

Supplices.

Two points in this play are especially remarkable. The action does not take place before a palace or temple, or in any well-known locality; there is no hint of a 'scenae frons.' We find mention of an altar (222) near the coast of Argos (714 ff., 734, 744, 836) and not far from the city (955 ff.). Again, the dialogue is almost entirely between an actor and the chorus. On only two occasions does an actor converse with a fellow-actor (480 ff. and

¹ The chronological order of the plays followed is that found in Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*. The references are for the 'Persians' to Teuffel-Wecklein's edition; for the other plays, to the Teubner texts.

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXI, S. 597 ff.; Schönborn, *Die Skene der Hellenen*, S. 284 ff.; A. Müller, *B.-A.* 125 f.; Todt, *Noch einmal die Bühne des Aeschylos*, in *Philologus*, XLVIII, S. 505 ff.; Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*.

911 ff.). The chorus is the important element of the play. In the choreutae the interest centres, and where they are, there is the place of the action.

The first words of Danaos (τῷδε ναυκλήρῳ πατρί, 177) assure us that he has come as a guide to his daughters. As such his place was with the chorus when they came marching in chanting their anapaests, at the opening of the play. The entrance of the king (234) and of the herald (836) are most carefully motived. Even when Danaos returns from the city (600) the chorus greets him as he enters; and we feel that it is only because of the exciting nature of the scene that there is a lack of something of the kind when the king reappears (911). Since, then, there is nothing in the play to indicate that such is the case, it is hardly credible that Danaos should have entered during the recital of vs. 1-175. The play assumes his presence with his children from the beginning. ἀλλ' ὥς τάχιστα βᾶτε he bids them (191). If he were on the stage he must bid them 'come up' to him. For if a 'stage' existed, the altar, as we shall presently see, was upon it. But βᾶτε is exactly the expression to be used if the father stood with his children and bade them seek refuge at an altar on the same level with themselves. There is in fact no hint of any change of level as they repeatedly pass to and from this altar. The king says ἐπιστρέφου (508). They exhort each other βαῖνε φυγᾶ πρὸς ἀλκάν (832). It is not possible that they could have climbed to a stage in the four lines which are spoken before the herald joins them (836). What an absurd spectacle these choreutae would have presented scrambling up a flight of steps to reach their altar of refuge! Finally, when the king invites the chorus to go to the city, he uses στείχετ' (955). Schönborn infers from πάγον (189) that a hill is represented on the scene. But this is not simply a hill, but πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν. It is neither more nor less than the altar of the gods, at which the maidens are to sit as suppliants. This is plain from κρείσσων δὲ πύργου βωμός in the following line. πάγον τῶν θεῶν for altar (βωμός) need not surprise us, when we remember that altars at Olympia and elsewhere frequently became hillocks by the gradual accretions from the remains of sacrifices.

At v. 208 the chorus says to Danaos θέλοιμ' ἂν ἦδῃ σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν. Father and daughters are both at the altar. Here the choreutae remain till v. 508, when they leave their suppliant position at the request of the king. On the approach of the herald (832) they again seek refuge at the altar, from which they

depart to the city (955). Since the herald seeks to drag them from its protection (866-910), and is only prevented from doing so by the timely arrival of the king (911), it follows that this altar was where the actors were accustomed to be—on the 'stage,' if there were a stage. But the chorus is at the altar during 454 verses, considerably more than one-third of the entire play, and during almost the entire time when the *action* is going on.

Besides altars, chorus and actors there were present the attributes and images of the gods, *τρίαιναν* (218), *Ἑρμῆς ὄδ'* (220), *βρέττα* (463), *τρίαινας* (755), *βρέττος* (885). These were numerous and of considerable size, for the choreutae threaten to hang themselves upon them (465). Some portion of the multitude seen by Danaos (180 ff.) is also present, as the king (*στείχουσ' ἄν, ἄνδρες*, 500) commands his attendants to guide and guard Danaos. Again, *φίλαις ὁπάοσι* (954) and *ὁπαδοί* (1023) refer to others than the choreutae. It would be difficult indeed to accommodate on any stage possible in a Greek theatre these persons and objects actually mentioned as present.

V. 713 *ἱκεταδόκου γὰρ τῆςδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὄρω* is also taken as an indication of an elevated 'stage.' That the chorus is at this time in the orchestra is evident. For they left the altar at 508 and do not return to it till the entrance of the herald. They are surely not far from it, because the ode 630-709 is a prayer at this *κοινοβωμία* for all blessings for the Argives. Danaos is with his children in the orchestra, since *μόνην δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε, λίσσομαι* (748) becomes nonsense if the father is not near enough to render assistance in case the choreutae are attacked. In *ἱκεταδόκου σκοπῆς* we surely have a reference to the same altar mentioned in *πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν*. If this altar were on an elevated stage to which the herald was about to enter (836), and on which he was bound by the rules of dramatic art to remain, why does the chorus run to meet the danger?

The setting of the play becomes simple when we once have clearly in mind the earliest orchestra on the site of the theatre at Athens (cf. Part I). There were no stage-buildings. The altar in the middle of the orchestra would naturally be the altar belonging to the temple, since a second altar for sacrificial purposes would be superfluous. The Suppliants carries us back more nearly than any other extant play to the time when the drama consisted of odes sung by the choreutae as they danced around the altar. In the light of what we have found in the play itself

we are warranted in saying that to this circular dancing-place came the procession of Danaos and his daughters. To the large altar (*κοινοβωμία*, cf. 189 f., 222) in its centre, decorated with emblems and images of the gods, they go, deposit their branches, and sit as suppliants. Hither come the king and his attendants and find them. He sends Danaos to the city, then follows him. Danaos returns, from the altar sees the enemy approaching, and hastens for aid. The herald comes and seeks to drag the maidens to the ships, but is prevented by the king. Finally Danaos with his guard of honor (980 ff.) leads his children from the orchestra (1014 ff.) away into the hospitable city. Thus regarded the play possesses a dignity and simplicity which are entirely wanting on the supposition of a stage of any kind. Viewed in this light the Suppliants shows a natural step in the development from the choral song.

Persae.

The tomb of Dareios is the central point of much of the action. It is a structure of some size, for the shade of the king is invited (659) *ἐλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθον*. *ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφον* (686) proves that he literally obeys this call. The words *στέγος ἀρχαῖον* (141) seem also to apply to this family sepulchre (cf. v. 657 *ἀρχαῖος βαλλήν*, Soph. *Electra* 1165, and Lycophr. *Alex.* 1097), since a council chamber such as Wilamowitz (*Herm.* XXI) has assumed would not be erected on the scene for this one brief reference.

The palace was at a distance. The chorus see Atossa approaching at 150, but it is five lines later before they begin to address her. Appearing from a palace in the background, she would have been immediately before them as soon as she became visible. She announces (159) *ταῦτα λιποῦσ' ἰκάνω*. These words are superfluous if the palace was before the eyes of the choreutae. The queen mentions (229) the offerings she will make after she has returned to the royal dwelling. She says she will return to the sepulchre with a sacrificial cake (524), but adds (529 f.) *ἐάνπερ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλῃ, | παρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προπέμπετ' ἐς δόμους*. This escort duty could only be performed by the chorus when the palace lay at a distance. The mother's fear that her son will arrive while she is absent, and her non-appearance in the long scene which follows the appearance of Xerxes, are both inexplicable on the theory that the palace is before the eyes of the spectators. In all these passages there is the idea of space to be traversed and time to be consumed in passing to and from the dwelling.

The queen announces (607 f.) τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων | χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροιθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν | ἔσπειλα. ὀχημα means vehiculum, chariot,¹ as in Iph. in Aulis 610 f. ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων ἔξω πορεύεθ'. The fact that Atossa takes pains to say that she has come without her chariot and her former pomp distinctly implies that at her first appearance she did come with such royal insignia. Therefore it was equally impossible that she should come from a palace in the background, or enter on a stage at all. Lines 1016 and 1024 show how poverty-stricken was the dress of Xerxes on his arrival on the scene of action, and how few were in his retinue. Still the poet could not introduce the king unattended, nor represent him as having come from Greece on foot. Therefore it is a fair inference that σκηναῖς τροχλάτοισιν (1000 f.) imply a chariot in which the king appears in the orchestra.

But there are yet other proofs that actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. For the first forty lines after his appearance (249) the messenger converses with the chorus. Had he appeared on a stage of which Atossa and her attendants were the occupants, he would on his entrance have stood face to face with them, and it would have been most unnatural for him to turn from the queen before him to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from him. His action is natural only on the supposition that he enters through the parodos, since then the chorus in the middle of the orchestra would first meet his eyes. Again Atossa returns from the palace with the sacrificial offerings (598) and the chorus join in the libations to the dead which follow. It need hardly be said that all are by the tomb during this ceremony. In fact Dareios addresses his wife as τάφου πέλας (684) and the chorus as ἐγγύς . . . τάφου (686). He actually addresses the chorus first on his appearance (681). Then the commands of Xerxes to the chorus, πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι (1038) and ἐς δόμους κίε (1067), do not bid them to 'come up' to him and enter the palace by clambering over a stage, but to escort him to the royal house, as they had been commanded by the queen-mother (530). The length of the kommos (1036-76), during which all are leaving the scene together, is another indication that they are passing out through the parodos, and not by the shorter way, 'over a stage.'

¹ Teuffel-Wecklein, Perser, S. 50, attempt to explain ὀχημα as 'Thronsessel,' but this is simply an effort to show how the queen entered from a palace in the background.

It is true that no underground passage has been as yet found in the theatre at Athens, but the existence of such passages in Eretria, Sikyon and elsewhere produces not a demonstration but a conviction that the ghost of Dareios appeared by means of some such passage, that he appeared in the orchestra, not on a 'stage.'

The Persians is certainly a step higher in development than the Suppliants. The tomb of Dareios is of more importance than the *κοινοβωμία*, and the interest centres in the actors, not in the chorus. But the idea of a scenic background is not yet present.

Septem.

The scene is on the Kadmeia in Thebes (*ἀκρόπολιν*, 240), and perhaps in an agora; for Eteokles, at the opening of the play, is addressing an assembly of the citizens. *Κάδμου πολῖται* (1), *ὀρμάσθε πάντες* (31), and the exhortation for young and old alike (10 ff.) to succor the city, unite to prove that numbers were present in this assembly. Being mutes, their place is with the actors, but their numbers are apparently too great for any possible stage. The bodies of the two brothers are brought in at 861. From 960 on Antigone and Ismene are present with them. The chorus in antistrophic strains (874 ff.) lament the fate of the dead. *σιδαρόπλακτοι μὲν ὧδ' ἔχουσι* (911) shows that the body lies immediately before the semichorus. At 1068 *ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν | αἶδε προπομποί* says the one semichorus as it, with Antigone, follows the body of Polynikes through one parodos. *ἡμεῖς ἅμα τῷδ'* respond the others as they, together with Ismene, accompany the funeral procession of Eteokles. Here not only are the numbers too great for the supposed 'stage,' but there is the distinct statement that all are together on one level, which could only be that of the orchestra.

Many images are mentioned, Ares (105, 135), Zeus (116), Apollo (145, 159), Artemis (149 f.), Hera (152). The chorus not only appeal to them in these passages, but prostrate themselves before them (95 *βρέτη*). They rush in haste to them (211 *πρόδρομος ἦλθον*). The choreutae are clinging to these figures (258), and only come forth from among them (265 *ἐκτὸς οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων*) in response to repeated commands of the king. But neither here nor elsewhere in the play does anything suggest an ascent to a stage or descent therefrom. Yet Eteokles offers prayer to these same tutelary deities (69 f.). In these devotions he could not neglect the images, nor can we conceive that he prayed from the

top of a 'stage' to the images down in the orchestra. On the other hand, there is no room for these *agalmata* on a stage. These difficulties disappear when we grant that all—actors, chorus and mutes—are moving and performing their several functions on the acropolis of Thebes, from which the chorus (81, 89, 115, 117)—not because they have climbed the little elevation of a 'stage,' but because of the height of the citadel itself—watch the action going on without the walls.

Prometheus.

The final catastrophe in which actor and chorus are swallowed up together could only take place if the cliff to which the Titan was chained was of considerable height and extent. Otherwise there would not be room beneath for the reception of so great a number of persons. In the Prometheus, then, we have the first example of extensive construction to aid in the presentation of a play, the first of the *προσκήνια* which Aischylos is said to have invented. For the tomb and altars used in the previous plays could hardly be called by that name. As has been shown in Part I of this paper, the stage-buildings of the V century were entirely of wood. The mistake which has been made in the past has been in the assumption that the theatre-carpenter first built a lofty narrow platform and then proceeded to erect his scenery upon this. But such a construction for the Prometheus is an absurdity. On the narrow platform of the so-called stage there would be no room for the representation of the craggy mountain-side to which the Titan is bound, much less for the immense trap-door (?) through which chorus and actor finally disappear. It was not on the (later) *proskenion*, but instead of it, that the scenery was constructed. It is quite possible that the sudden and complete disappearance of all the occupants of the scene finds its explanation in the peculiar position of the ancient orchestra at Athens. As explained in Part I, the earth outside of this orchestra to the south was five or six feet at least lower than the level of the orchestra. Under these circumstances such a disappearance could be easily managed.

For more than 150 verses after they appear (127-282) the chorus remain in their winged chariot. This chariot, with its burden of 12 choreutae, could not have moved into view through the air. The weight was too great. Vs. 143 ff. show that they are near the Titan when they enter. The idea that at 282 they

leave their chariot and descend from a stage into an orchestra, having no connection with the real scene of the action, finds no support whatever in the text. Next to the hero himself, the chorus is the important element of the play. Their conversation with him is, as it were, only interrupted by the visits of Okeanos and Io. They remain constant to him and finally suffer with him. Where they are is always considered a part of the scene of action. The words of Hermes (1058 ff.) show that they are then near Prometheus, and the whole play demands that there be no artificial barrier like a stage between them and the sufferer.

Certain common characteristics of these first four plays we shall find neither in the later dramas of Aischylos nor in those of the other dramatists.

1. Although a *σκηνή*, a building of some sort to which the actors could retire for the changes of masks and of costumes, was necessarily present, it is only in the Prometheus that a special structure to represent a scene is demanded.

2. So far as can be learned from the plays themselves, the side entrances, the *parodoi*, alone were used.

3. The chorus has an importance either greater than or equal to that of the actors.

As Mr. Verrall says (Class. Rev. 1890, p. 225): "The drama of Aeschylus is really a choric drama. If we except the Prometheus, a work *sui generis* and not really compassable by any stage high or low, all Aeschylus's remaining plays are of the choric kind. Speakers, singers and mutes are all indissolubly connected and equally essential to the action. So that to subtract the singers and separate them in any way from the whole body would be as improbable and contradictory to the nature of the act as to put a barrier between the actors of a dialogue."

II. THE AISCHYLOS-SOPHOKLES PERIOD.

A. Aischylos.—*Agamemnon*.

The scene is before the palace of the Atreidai: *στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν*, 3; *Ἀτρειδῶν στέγος*, 310; *μέλαθρα βασιλείων*, 518; *ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους*, 851; *ἐς δῶμ'*, 911; *ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα*, 957; *εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ*, 1035; *πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν*, 1088; *ἐν δόμοισι*, 1102; *δώμασιν*, 1191; *δόμοις*, 1217; *δῶμοι*, 1309; *πρὸς δῶμα*, 1349; *δωμάτων*, 1673. These passages are cited not to prove what all the world knows, but to call attention to the marked contrast between the scenic accessories used in the

Agamemnon and those employed—if we base our judgment on the text—in the four earlier plays.

Commentators may be in doubt as to whether Pelasgos rides into the orchestra in the Suppliants, but there is no doubt that Agamemnon and Cassandra come on the scene in the Agamemnon (782) in a chariot. Not only was this act of itself impossible on a Greek 'stage,' but, granting that the chariot itself could appear on this narrow platform, no space would remain for the spreading of the carpet (909), for the maid-servants (908), for Klytaimnestra, and for the train of menials who must have followed the king. The conqueror of Troy would not arrive before his palace unattended. In spite of the repeated invitations of Klytaimnestra (1039 ff.) and exhortations of the chorus (1054), the prophetess remains seated in the chariot till v. 1290 (*ἰούσα κ' ἄγω*). Then she ranges free through the orchestra (1298). She approaches the door (1306). She essays again and again to enter, while the chorus gather about her in wondering pity (1321). Finally she rushes within to meet her doom (1330). Nothing in the play indicates that she must ascend to a 'stage.' During 500 lines (782-1290) the chariot and the captive Cassandra seated within is the middle point of the action. To this chariot must Klytaimnestra come, both when she welcomes her husband and when she invites the Trojan maiden to enter the palace. If stairs were present, the mutes and the actors, encumbered by their tragic costume, must have repeatedly passed over them. Then it would have been easy for the chorus, unencumbered by such dress, to have ascended them in the death scene (1342 ff.), in order to enter the palace, had it not been that the fate of Agamemnon was foreordained, and that the exigencies of the play required them to remain without, that Klytaimnestra might address them in the presence of the spectators.

In 1615 f. the chorus threatens that Aigisthos shall be stoned. Later (1650) he calls upon his companions to be ready, and the chorus draw their swords and rush forward (1651 *εἰα δὲ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπίζετω*). These are not the words of men who must climb a narrow flight of steps to come at their enemy. Aigisthos retires to the house at the close of the play, but there is no indication again that he must ascend in order to do this. A stage was then not only not necessary, but would have been a decided hindrance to the entire action of the play, while the greater portion of the play must in any event have been represented in the orchestra.

Choephoroe.

Two objects are mentioned as being before the eyes of the spectators—the tomb of Agamemnon and the royal palace. The latter is first mentioned v. 13, and the chorus inform us that they are come forth from it (22 f.) as an escort to the drink-offering. The tomb being the central point of the action for the next 400 lines, the palace is not again referred to till 553. From this line to the end of the play the action is either in or immediately before this building (cf. 561, 652, 669, 712, 732, 849, 878, 885). The testimony concerning the sepulchre is equally emphatic. Orestes is at the tomb v. 4; Elektra pours libations on it, vs. 129 and 149. The lock of hair is found upon it (168). It is also referred to as present in 106, 355 f., 501, 511. Finally, after Klytaimnestra has conducted Orestes and Pylades within the house, 722 f. *ὦ πότνια χθὼν καὶ πότν' ἄκτῃ | χόματος, ἥ νῦν ἐπὶ ναυάρχῳ | σώματι κείσαι τῷ βασιλείῳ*, in connection with *δόμοισι* (13) and *ἐκ δόμων* (22) proves conclusively that there has been no change of scene, but that sepulchre and palace have both been present throughout the play.

But dwelling and tomb cannot both exist at the same time in the background directly in front of the *σκηνή*. The sepulchre could not be located close by the door of the palace, and Orestes (16 f.) sees the procession coming, yet has time to withdraw before the maidens perceive him. Furthermore, the narrow stage afforded no room for an object so large as the passages already cited prove this sepulchre to have been. The tomb was then in the orchestra.

This tallies exactly with what we learn of the position of actors and chorus. The choreutae enter with Elektra (16 f.), they are her associates (86), sharers in the ceremonies (100). She prays for them as well as for herself (112). They move about her chanting the dirge as she pours the libation (152 f.) Therefore, for the first 584 vs.—more than half the play—actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. The chorus decide not to enter the palace in the death scene (870 ff.), and they have the same excellent reason here as in the Agamemnon. The play must go on before the eyes of the spectators. Later Orestes says, as he shows the murderous net in which his father had been entangled: *ἐκτείναν' αὐτὸ καὶ κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν | στέγαστρον ἀνδρὸς δείξας* (983 f.). He is plainly talking to the choreutae, and if they are not actually holding the garment, they are at least near the group. *κύκλῳ* certainly implies that they are not separated from the actors by a

'stage.' In the Choephoroe, then, actors and chorus are on the same level throughout, and a stage is impossible.

It is worth noting that in (878) *γυναικείους πύλας* we have probably the first allusion to a second door in the proskenion. The servant has just come out of one door as he goes to open that leading to the women's apartments.

Eumenides.

In the opening scene the proskenion represents the temple of Apollo at Delphoi, and the orchestra appears as the open court before it. The priestess entering offers prayer to *Γαῖα* and *Θέμυς* (2), *Τυρανίς*—*Φοίβη* (6, 7). Certainly goddesses who earlier were held in highest honor here would possess at least altars within the sacred precincts. At these the priestess does homage, and they could hardly have been crowded together on a narrow 'stage' close in front of the temple.

The chorus have just ended their ode (142-177) in the orchestra when the god gives his command (179) *ἔξω, Κελεύω, τῶνδε δωμάτων*. These words, then, refer to the sacred precinct—temple and court, i. e. orchestra—as a whole.

That, as the schol. in loc. informs us, the sleeping Furies, Apollo, Hermes and Orestes, are all brought into view on the ekkyklema (64) is beyond belief. No door in Greek or Roman theatre has ever been found capable of giving passage to a platform of such size. The words of Apollo (68), *ὑπνῷ πεσοῦσαι κτλ.*, are unnecessary if the sleepers were before the eyes of the spectators. It is accordingly not till 140 that, finally aroused by the reproaches of Klytaimnestra, they come rushing forth. But the first strophe begins with 143. There is no time to descend a flight of steps between 140 and 143, and surely the choreutae are not descending stairs as they sing this ode.

It is of no great weight, but it is nevertheless natural to expect that the pursued Orestes and the pursuing Furies should leave the theatre by the same exit, the left parodos.

If there had been a stage, the Furies, when they reënter (244) searching for their victim (245 f.), would naturally look for Orestes an actor, upon it; but where they find him clinging to the image there the trial is conducted, and there all the participants in this magnificent scene have their places. Accusers, accused, defenders and judges can hardly be separated—a portion on a lofty platform and the rest deep down in the orchestra. That the altar and image of the goddess, with the numerous company of actors,

mutes and chorus, could find no sufficient room on the 'stage' is self-evident. Whether Athena appears (404) moving through the air is of no importance so far as the stage-question is concerned, but, after judgment has been rendered, the goddess declares that she herself will head the procession which is to lead the Furies to their new abode (1003 f.). She invites the chorus to follow (1006), and bids the Areopagites accompany them. Attendants bear the torches (1005) and chant the closing ode (1032 ff.) as all move from the theatre together in splendid procession—affording splendid proof that the entire scene has been given on the broad level of the orchestra.

B. *Sophokles.—Aias.*

Since in the V century the proskenion was a temporary structure, alterable to meet the requirements of each play, it is reasonable to suppose that the hut of Aias was made with some attempt to portray a real structure of this kind. It could not occupy the entire space (e. g. 24 m. at Epidauros) between the paraskenia; nor could it, from lack of room, be built forward on the 'stage.' Then, too, the invitation to the chorus to enter the tent (329 εἰσελθόντες) is not an invitation to ascend to a stage. Nor can we assume, with Müller (B.-A., S. 127), that they do not enter because of the difficulty of climbing the steps. The scholiast (in 130) gives the correct explanation: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄτοπον τὸν χορὸν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀναβοᾷ ἐνδοθεν ὁ Αἴας ἵνα μείνῃ ἐπὶ χώρας ὁ χορὸς. Here σκηνήν means simply the 'scene' of the action. Tekmessa opens the hut (344, 346), saying that the chorus can now see the hero (346), which statement Aias repeats (364). But the hero is lying on the floor of the hut (427). From the orchestra it would be impossible for the chorus to see him over the edge of a stage more than five feet high. Again, the choreutae must be near enough to make the request of Aias (361), that they slay him, appear reasonable.

Aias is an actor, therefore his place is on the 'stage,' if one existed. If the semichoruses are not entirely lacking in sense they will look for him there when they enter in the 'search scene.' Though they are on the scene 25 vs. before the body is found, Tekmessa is the one to discover it. The length of the search implies that considerable space was examined. This space existed only in the orchestra. A glance would have sufficed for the examination of the so-called 'stage.' πᾶ κείται (911 f.) asks the

chorus; οὗτοι θεατός is the reply, showing that the body was visible to them, as it could hardly have been if on a stage, while they were in the orchestra below.

Teuker bids the choreutae (1182) protect the child of Aias, and in the closing scene he bids some to hollow out a grave (1403 f.), others to put the tripod on the fire (1405). Let one troop bring forth the arms (1407 f.) of the hero. Finally, let every one (1413 f.) who says he is a friend of Aias hurry and go toiling for him. No one has a better right to be included in these commands than the chorus. Since all have been together in the orchestra, so all depart in solemn march through the parodos.

Antigone.

The scene is before the palace of Kreon (386, 526, 1181, 1248, 1293). Apparently but one entrance to this is used (1, 99, 162, 526, 578, 626 (?), 804, 1182, 1243, 1276, 1292, 1346). One entrance on the right is necessary (99, 987, 1090, 1353), and one on the left¹ (99, 222, 331, 444, 765, 943, 1114, 1261).

Vs. 160 ff. inform us that the chorus is assembled in its capacity of council to the king, and that Kreon addresses them as such. Naturally, the king joins his councillors, and is not perched on a 'stage' high above them. The chorus is also frequently addressed and brought intimately into the action of the play by Antigone (940), by Teiresias 988. The prophet addresses Kreon and the chorus as members of one body, of which Kreon is the one who replies. The messenger (cf. Schol. in 1155) and Eurydike (1183) direct their conversation to the choreutae. This method of treating the chorus is natural only on the supposition that actors and chorus are together on one level in the open court before the palace of the king.

Electra.

The palace of the Pelopidai is again in the background (10, 40, 69, 324, 661, 802, 818, 929, 1106); but the tomb of Agamemnon is not visible (51 ff., 404 ff., 871 ff., 893). An altar to Apollo is placed before the dwelling (634 f., 1376 f.). Ἀγορὰ Λύκειος (7) and Ἥρας ναός (8), particularly the latter, could not have been actually on the scene, for the proskenion represented the palace. They might have been represented on the paraskenia, however, and possibly we have here the first clear indication of that σκηνογραφία the invention of which Aristotle (Poet., c. 4) ascribes to Sophokles.

¹ Right and left from the standpoint of the spectator.

The pedagogue, entering v. 659, though Klytaimnestra has just finished speaking, first addresses the chorus. So Orestes (1098) salutes them, ὦ γυναῖκες, and seems unconscious of the presence of Elektra, as one apart from the rest of the number, till the chorus call his attention to the fact. Had these two actors come in on a stage whose only occupant in each case was another actor, it would have been a peculiar thing for them to turn from this actor to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from them. An examination of the plan of the theatre of Dionysos in Part I will show that when an actor entered the orchestra through the parodos, he would first see, and therefore naturally first address, the choreutae near the centre of the orchestra, rather than the actors nearer the proskenion.

From 120 to 324 Elektra and the chorus are engaged in intimate conversation (cf. 130, 229). There is no more reason for separating them than for keeping apart any two actors under similar circumstances. From 804-870 chorus and actor are again alone, and Elektra is lying by the door of the palace. 827 El. ἔ ξ, αἰαῖ. | Cho. ὦ παῖ, τί δακρύεις; | El. φεῦ. | Ch. μηδέν μέγ' αὔσης. | El. ἀπολείς. Ch. πῶς; | El. εἰ τῶν φανερώς οἰχομένων εἰς 'Αἶδαν ἐλπὶδ' ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ τακομένης μᾶλλον ἐπεμβάσει. It is surely but reasonable to say that the choreutae are near the one whom they are seeking to comfort. There is no word of their ascending to reach her, but in her recumbent position on a stage she would not even be visible to her friends in the orchestra.

Oedipus Rex.

The royal palace of Thebes is in the background (632, 927, 1294, etc.), before which are altars (2, 16, 919). It would not, indeed, have been impossible to arrange these altars and the crowd of suppliants¹ sitting at them as Oidipous enters, v. 1, on the so-called Greek stage; but, in that event, there could be but little room for any one or anything else there. The priest is an actor, the other suppliants are mutes, therefore they are on the same level as the other actors. All prostrate themselves before the king (40 f.), and the priest assumes that all are with himself (147 *ιστώμεθα*). Yet the crowd is at a little distance from the two actors, and have a clearer view of the side entrances. For the suppliants inform the priest that Kreon is approaching (78 ff.). The new-

¹ 16 ff. οἱ μὲν οὐδέπω μακρὰν | πτέσθαι σθενόντες, οἱ δὲ σὺν γήρα βαρεῖς | ἱερῆς, ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνός, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἡθέων | λεκτοί.

comer is still at a little distance, for two speeches are delivered before he is within speaking distance (85). The scene is entirely clear only on the assumption that the suppliants at the altars nearer the middle of the orchestra command a better view of the actor entering through the parodos than do the actors who are nearer the proskenion. It may be urged that the actor could be imagined as visible while still standing in the paraskenia, but this would not at all explain those scenes where the chorus in the orchestra first see and announce the coming of an actor through the side entrances. The chorus in such a case could not be expected even to imagine seeing an actor about to enter on a 'stage.'

Nothing in the play requires the chorus to ascend to a stage, yet are they on the same level with the actors. They first see Teiresias (297 f.), and they prostrate themselves before the king (326 f.). For all the MSS except L assign these words to the chorus, and Oidipous would hardly kneel to the prophet, nor could he say πάντες σε προσκυνούμεν οἷδ' ἱκτῆριοι. Furthermore, Iokasta brings the chorus intimately into the action (648); the messenger addresses the chorus, not Iokasta (924); Oidipous questions the choreutae whether any of them know the herdsman (1047, 1115 f.). He appeals to the choreutae to lead him away (1339), to deign to touch him (1413). These passages imply unobstructed intercourse between actors and chorus.

Had the newly-blinded king come forth on the so-called stage (1307), one must surely have trembled lest he walk over its edge and fall into the orchestra.

Trachiniae.

The scene of the action is before the palace of Herakles (203, 329, 531, 900).

The chorus first appear to bid Deianeira hope (138). Later she comes forth in secret (531 ff.) to explain to them her fears and her plans, and to show to them the garment she has prepared (580). They are undoubtedly in a position to see this in its hollow chest (692). Although the herald is already without the palace (594 ff.), Deianeira bids the choreutae keep her secret, and adds a moral reflection for their edification. The eternal fitness of things would certainly seem to be violated if she were confidentially shouting her woes from a 'stage' to the chorus at some distance from her, below in the orchestra, with Lichas, from whom

these things are to be kept hidden, standing a few feet from her, at the door of the palace. This scene is also clear when we understand that the wife of Herakles is with her friends, the choreutae, in the orchestra, while the herald is at a little distance when he comes from the palace door. Directly to the chorus does the hero's wife come again (663), when she discovers the evil she has wrought.

Herakles is brought in where the chorus can see him lying on his couch (964 ff.). This they could do with difficulty were he on a stage. His bearers, attendants, and the friends who would naturally accompany him, the procession with which the play closes and of which the chorus probably form a part,—all tend to prove that the action is going on on the broad level of the orchestra.

Philoktetes.

Neoptolemos, a mute (45), the chorus (92 ἡμᾶς τοσοῦσδε, 126 δοκῆτε), and Odysseus enter together. Following the directions of Odysseus (15), Neoptolemos begins the search for the cave on the hillside (20 f.). He finds it above them (29), mounts to it and describes its contents (33 ff.). He invites the chorus to draw near (145, cf. Schol. in loc.) and see the cave. Surprised at the miserable quarters, they question if it really is the hero's dwelling. Neoptolemos' reply (159) assures them that it is, and calls their attention to his previous description.

The impossibility of setting this play on the so-called 'stage' has been shown in Part I. For this is a hillside, on which actors and chorus can move easily without danger of slipping and dropping over the edge of a 12-foot stage. The proskenion is then neither that found in the theatre at Epidauros, nor that which represented the palace in the Agamemnon, but is one representing a rocky hillside sloping down to the level of the orchestra. On the slope was the cavern, to which led a path, and a spring was near (21).

Philoktetes addresses Neoptolemos and the chorus together (219), and only learns which is the leader from Neoptolemos' reply (232). V. 581 refers to the chorus as of one party with the actors, an idea which is strengthened by the ἑσσωμεν of 825. In 861 the chorus can observe the sick man closely. Later on (887) Neoptolemos proposes that the choreutae bear the lame man to the ship, and Odysseus threatens that they shall bear him away by force (983). In his reply to this last Philoktetes alludes to the chorus as near him

(984). He threatens to throw himself down from the rocks (1002), but he is seized and held by members of the chorus, all of whom are present for the express purpose of rendering the necessary assistance. *Χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἀλλήεις* (1469, cf. *ἀλλήεις*, Trach. 513) makes us to understand clearly that chorus and actors go off the scene through the parodos together at the end of the play.

Oedipus Coloneus.

The spot is full of the bay, the olive and the vine, and nightingales are singing within the grove (17 ff.). Real trees were an impossibility, therefore the painted scenery must have been elaborate. The precinct of the Eumenides is a grove (98, 126), into which Antigone guides her father (114). When the chorus see him (138) they caution him not to remain (156) in the silent grove. A long distance separates them from him (163). They invite him to come forth; when he advances (178) they urge him to come farther (178), and then direct Antigone to lead him still farther (180). She encourages Oedipous to follow with confidence. The advancing pictured in all these passages could not refer to crossing a stage 8 ft. wide. When the Colonean goes (80) to summon the chorus of his fellow-citizens, we look for the latter to enter by the same passage through which he departed. They do this, for they declare that they will search for the intruder through the sacred temenos (136). In other words, in searching for an actor they search where actors are accustomed to be. There is no indication of a barrier between the orchestra proper and the grove, excepting that wall of the precinct on which the blind king sits (192). Reasoning from analogy with other passages in which chariots and animals are mentioned, we may assume that Ismene rides into the orchestra on her Aetnaean steed (312); but nothing shows that she ascends to come to her father.

Theseus appoints the chorus as a guard to Oedipous (638, cf. Schol. in loc.). He appeals to them (724). They are near (803, cf. Schol.), so that Kreon cannot seize him against their will (815, cf. Schol.). When Kreon gives command to drag Antigone away, the choreutae first threaten (835); then, though he forbids them to touch him (856), they seize and hold him (857). From 638 to 857 actors and chorus have plainly been together. To these come Theseus (885) with followers (893). It is certainly not too much to say that, as in Philoktetes, the scenery could not have been placed on a stage, and, further, that no Greek 'stage'

could have contained the numbers present in the scene just described, particularly in the lively action in which they were engaged.

In the plays of this second period there is a clearness of statement, with reference to place of the action and to the details of the scenery, which was lacking in the first four dramas of Aischylos. In seven of the plays just considered a building is in the background, a palace in the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, *Electra*, *Antigone*, the *Trachiniae*, and *Oedipus Rex*, and a temple in the *Eumenides*. In the *Ajax* we find a tent by the sea-shore, in the *Philoctetes* a cavern on a hillside, in the *Oedipus Coloneus* the sacred precinct in the grove. The *proskenenion*, however, is still a unity; that is, it represents but one building. From the *Electra* and *Oedipus Coloneus* we are justified in inferring that great advances had been made in *σκηνογραφία*, and that this was employed even where there are no clear allusions to it in the text. The teaching of the dramas is that from the *Suppliants* of Aischylos to the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophokles there has been much the same progress in the art of representation as in the art of composition. Yet in every play of this second period, as in those of the first, there exists the strong probability that actors and chorus make use of the same *parodoi* for entrances and exits, and in several plays the text shows that the existence of a stage was an impossibility.

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